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INTERMITTENT OPPORTUNITIES, SOME OBSERVATIONS AND HYPOTHESES RELATING TO AN EDUCATIONAL ENRICHMENT SUMMER PROGRAM FOR SOME CULTURALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN OF BOSTON.

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THIS RESEARCH INVESTIGATED WHY DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS CHOSE TO ATTEND OR NOT TO ATTEND A SUMMER ENRICHMENT PROGRAM. INTERVIEWS WERE CONDUCTED WITH A SAMPLE OF GIRLS AND THEIR MOTHERS TO DETERMINE THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOOL AND FAMILY ON THEIR CHOICE. SOME OF THE SPECIFIC FACTORS AFFECTING THEIR ATTENDING WERE CONSIDERED IN PLANNING THE PROGRAM FOR THE FOLLOWING SUMMER. THOSE WHO HAD BEEN INVITED IN 1964 BUT DID NOT ATTEND WERE INVITED AGAIN IN 1965. RECRUITMENT WAS BEGUN EARLIER TO ALLOW MORE TIME FOR PARENTS TO PLAN AND DECIDE. A LETTER INFORMING PARENTS AND STUDENTS ABOUT THE PROGRAM WAS SENT AT THE SAME TIME PRINCIPALS EXTENDED THE INVITATION. PRINCIPALS WERE MORE CAREFULLY ORIENTED, AND INFORMATION PAMPHLETS WERE MORE CAREFULLY DESIGNED. QUESTIONS WERE RAISED BY THE STUDY ABOUT THE EFFECT OF INTERMITTENT OPPORTUNITIES ON DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN, AND ABOUT THE DANGER OF INSTILLING ASPIRATIONS WHICH OUTWEIGH THE MEANS OF SATISFYING THEM. PROBLEMS OF STUDENT SELECTION AND THE NEED FOR PROGRAM CONTINUATION DURING THE YEAR ARE DISCUSSED. (AF)

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# INTERMITTENT OPPORTUNITIES

## Some Observations and Hypotheses Relating to an Educational Enrichment Summer Program for Some Culturally Deprived Children of Boston

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## Introduction[1]

In the summer of 1964 a special enrichment program for boys and girls residing in low-income areas of Boston was undertaken by the public schools of Boston and six independent schools in the area: Belmont Hill, Browne and Nichols, Milton Academy, Noble and Greenough, Roxbury Latin, and Shady Hill. Sponsored by the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the program was financially supported by these schools and the following foundations: The Spaulding-Potter Trusts, The Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, The Cabot Foundation, The Ford Foundation. Cooperating agencies were the National Association of Independent Schools, the Boston Public Schools, and Action for Boston Community Development (A. B. C. D. ).[2]

Students eligible for this program were those completing the third through the eighth grades who had an IQ of 105+, were reading at or above their grade level, and were attending schools in the A. B. C. D. target area. Of the 475 children who met these criteria (set by the independent schools), 195 were randomly selected and invited to attend the program.[3] The invitation was extended by means of a pamphlet describing the program; a registration blank was enclosed for enrollment of the student by the parents. The public schools attended by the selected students distributed the pamphlets to them and collected the registration forms from them.

The independent schools offering the summer program had space for 119 students. Of the 195 invited, 92 accepted.

During the fall and winter of 1964-65, a research project was undertaken jointly by Simmons College and A. B. C. D. in order to explore the reasons why some students enrolled when offered the program and others did not. The research was carried out under my direction by the nine Simmons students enrolled in the fall seminar on the sociology of education: Marcia Anderson, Cheryl Beaton, Phyllis Dana, Ellen Gallagher, Joy Goldberg, Ardeth Miller, Penny Monsein, Ellen Regan, Elaine Schultz.

The work of this project was encouraged and supported by Dr. Carroll F. Miles, Chairman, Division of Social Studies, Simmons College. This project would not, of course, have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of Action for Boston Community Development (A. B. C. D. ). Dr.

Sidney H. Aronson, Associate Director of Research for A. B. C. D., participated actively and effectively on behalf of that organization. The support and encouragement of Dr. Clarence C. Sherwood, Director of Research, A. B. C. D., is also warmly acknowledged, as is the work of Mr. Norman R. Stacey, Research Project Director, and Mr. Ralph G. Lewis, Data Processing Coordinator.

The entire enrichment program, including the research project undertaken by the Simmons students, evidences the concern of diverse groups of our society for the Other America. The fact that over 50 per cent of the students who were given an opportunity to participate in the program did not do so underscores the value, for future projects of this kind, of research and evaluation. Were those students who did not attend the children of parents who understood what the program involved but did not value it? What motivated the students who did attend the summer program? What are some of the implications of offering intermittent opportunities of this kind to those who are culturally disadvantaged? Some observations and hypotheses relating to these questions are the focus of this report.

Since this publication will be used as training material in sociology courses and seminars at Simmons College, references to the relevant literature have been included rather extensively for the benefit of the students.

J. L. H.

## 1. The Simmons Research Project

### The Areas Studied

Of the low-income areas of Boston from which students were selected for the independent schools' summer program, two were studied--the South End and Roxbury. Both have a high incidence of citizens on welfare, high population density, and significant proportions of nonwhites--36 per cent in the South End and 44 per cent in Roxbury, at the time of the 1960 Census.[4] These areas are commonly characterized as "slums"; technically, "low income and rental areas" would be more accurate. The concept of "slum" connotes disorganization, which may not be an appropriate description of the areas studied. It has been commonly assumed, for example, that such areas are characterized by a high degree of residential mobility; the fact is that these areas may be comparatively rather stable, and the residential mobility that does occur may take place largely within the areas themselves.[5]

The residents, especially the children, in these areas are usually described as "culturally deprived."[6] This term commonly refers to deficiencies in environment and experience, especially regarding education, taken relative to the wider society as the point of reference. This does not mean that those in the lower classes lack a culture, but that in certain respects they do diverge from the predominant middle-class culture characterizing American society.[7]

### The Interview Sample

A focused sample[8] was used in making this study in order to delimit the area of concern as closely as possible to the crucial variable under consideration, namely, why some students did and others did not attend the summer program. The following considerations were factors in the selection of the sample:

1. Girls rather than boys were chosen because (a) girls have been relatively neglected in studies concerning social mobility or aspirations, and (b) the choice seemed appropriate since Simmons is a girls' school.

2. In order to control for socio-economic status as much as possible, the test group was drawn from Roxbury; to avoid contamination, the pretest sample was drawn from the South End. Due to lack of responses and the time lag that

occurred in making contacts for interviewing, however, girls from both areas are included in the analyses, resulting in a less sharply focused sample than we had hoped for.

3. A fortuitous distribution between those who did and those who did not attend from Roxbury and the South End yielded an adequate sample. Of the 72 girls from those areas who were invited to join the summer program, 37 attended and 35 did not. In Roxbury, there were 33 who attended and 22 who did not; in the South End, however, there were 4 who attended and 13 who did not.

Requests for Interviews. Since prior research has shown that the family is a significant determinant of what a child plans and does not plan to do, the request for an interview included the mother for theoretical as well as practical reasons. A letter was sent to the mother requesting permission to interview both mother and child, and a return postcard for reply was included.

The pretest sample consisted of a selection of those from the South End who had and who had not attended the program. Following this, a mailing was sent to a random sample of 36 students in Roxbury, some of whom had attended the program and some of whom had not. Due to the slowness of returns, however, letters were finally sent to all those in Roxbury who had been invited to attend. Second letters were later sent out to a subsample of 21. The final interview sample was therefore nonrandom and consisted of 19 girls, both from the South End and Roxbury.

Of the letters requesting interviews which were returned as undeliverable, 6 were addressed to mothers of girls who had attended the program, and 5 to mothers of girls who had not attended. Thirty-five letters were neither returned nor responded to; of these, 16 were addressed to mothers of girls who had attended and 19 to mothers of girls who had not. Incorrect addresses and inaccurate names (the names of the mothers were inferred from the names of their daughters) may have been factors; in some cases no telephone was available or numbers were unlisted. Time was too limited for an adequate follow-up. Letters assumed to have been received because they were not returned may, in fact, have reached the wrong person in some cases. A. B. C. D. is currently involved in developing systems for tracking individuals involved in their programs; our experience in drawing a sample certainly indicated that this is a problem and that written communication may be of limited value.

The Interviews

Pairs of students conducted the interviews in the homes of the respondents. Interviews were obtained with 19 girls and 18 mothers or their surrogates. The areas in which interviews were obtained, the number of girls interviewed who had attended the educational program, and a comparison of the interview sample with the total group selected by A. B. C. D. are shown in the table on page 4.

The fact that so many acceptances from those who had attended the program were received too late to be scheduled for interviews resulted in a weighting of the interview sample with those who had not attended the program.

In the interview situation, good rapport was obtained by the seminar members. Little opposition was offered by the respondents to the tape recorder that was used. Illustrative comments from the interview write-ups are included in later sections of this study.

## 2. Findings of the Project

The research reported here is based on two sources of data: (1) selected characteristics of all 72 girls invited to attend (data provided by A. B. C. D. ), and (2) interviews with 18 invited girls and 19 mothers. It should be noted that the results reported here from the interviews are not derived from a detailed and systematic study and analysis of the protocols and tapes; they are based chiefly on the observations and reports of the students who did the research and are the product of a broad overview of all the materials accumulated during the course of the study. Further, the small size and somewhat uneven distribution of the sample must be kept in mind. Nevertheless, these general observations are of considerable social significance, not only as guide-lines for future programs but also as indications of the importance of this project for A. B. C. D., for Simmons, for the young women who carried it out, and for the public and independent schools that were involved.

**Comparison of the Interview Sample with the**

**Total Group Invited to Attend the Program**

| | Total Group Invited by A. B. C. D. | | | | | | Sample Interviewed | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Attended | | Did Not Attend | | Total | | Attended | | Did Not Attend | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Roxbury | 33 | 60 | 22 | 40 | 55 | 100 | 7 | 47 | 8 | 53 | 15 | 100 |
| South End | 4 | 24 | 13 | 77 | 17 | 100 | 1 | 25 | 3 | 75 | 4 | 100 |
| Total | 37 | 51 | 35 | 49 | 72 | 100 | 8 | 42 | 11 | 58 | 19 | 100 |

N.B.: These figures do not reflect 7 cards, accepting interviews but received too late to be included, from Roxbury girls who had attended the program, nor 3 acceptances--also from students who had attended--resulting from the second letters sent to Roxbury.

Attendance in Relation to Grade Level

Children in the lower grades were more likely to attend the special program than children in the highest grades, as indicated in the table below. By grouping grades three through six on the one hand, and grades seven and eight on the other, a statistically significant relationship is obtained.[9] It should be noted, however, that this relationship is not a straightforward one. The highest proportion of acceptances came from the sixth grade, and the lowest from the eighth. Also, approximately twice as many children were invited from grades six through eight as from grades three through five.

Response of Roxbury and South End Girls to Summer Program Invitations, Classified by 1963-64 Grade in School

| Grade | Attended | Did Not Attend |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | 7 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 5 |
| 5 | 4 | 4 |
| 6 | 10 | 1 |
| 7 | 6 | 7 |
| 8 | 6 | 15 |
| Total | 37 | 35 |

In this connection, recent research among both girls and boys of high ability and low socio-economic status in grades six through nine has shown that aspirations decrease over time.[10] By the end of the eighth grade, in most instances, general career lines for life are established. It is reasonable to expect that the older the child becomes, the more he becomes oriented to his environment. He can perhaps enjoy daydreams in the earlier grades, but in the eighth grade the choice is made for college or noncollege curriculum. For most, this is a point of no return.[11]

The implications of this are manifold for programs to expand horizons for capable and gifted children from low socio-economic backgrounds. What if a student, in the summer preceding entry into the ninth grade, participates in a special educational program, and as a consequence decides to shift from a business or vocational to a college program? Are there school administrative and organizational arrangements

to make this possible? In view of such considerations and the limited resources available, might it be more strategic to concentrate on the earlier grades and to take the same children into this program for several summers? It is conceivable that a five-or-six-year graded summer program could be established; the model illustrated in medicine by booster shots might apply.

School Influences

The data indicated differences in numbers who accepted the program by individual schools (see the table on page 7). In one school, all 9 students who were invited to participate in the program refused. The large number of schools and the number of girls invited preclude systematic assessment of school influence; for example, in Roxbury and the South End, 72 students located in 16 different schools were invited, a theoretical average of 4.5 per school. As indicated in the table, page 7, where the schools are listed in order according to the number of students invited to attend the program, more students were invited from the seventh and eighth grades than from the lower grades. The correlation between grade level and acceptance, already noted, must also be kept in mind in drawing the conclusion that a greater proportion of nonacceptances occurred in those schools from which the higher number of students were invited.

The influence of peer groups and school atmosphere on decision-making in regard to programs of this nature could have many significant implications for social action.[12] These effects could be either functional or dysfunctional in reference to program goals. Our research suggests that it could be functional:

> The girl . . . was interested and discussed it with a friend who was also invited to attend. The two of them thought it might be fun and a good chance to learn more. . . . not knowing anyone else who was attending, however, they became apprehensive and decided to go with their friends to summer camp instead.

On the other hand, it is possible that the large number of students not selected from a specific class and school could set up sufficient peer group pressure to run counter to participation

Numbers Who Attended and Did Not Attend, Classified by School, * Ranked in Order of the Number Invited

| School | Grade Range | Attended | Did Not Attend | Total Invited |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 4-6 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| B | 8 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| C | 8 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| D | 7-8 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| E | 7-8 | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| F | 7-8 | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| G | 3-4 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| H | 5-6 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| I | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| J | 3-4 | 2 | - | 2 |
| K | 3 | 2 | - | 2 |
| L | 7-8 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| M | 8 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| N | 6 | 2 | - | 2 |
| O | 3 | - | 2 | 2 |
| P | 3 | - | 1 | 1 |
| | | 37 | 35 | 72 |

in these programs. There is a large body of social science literature that can be drawn on regarding the issue of school influence; it would be of immeasurable help in planning.

The Rate of Acceptances

It is important not to give undue weight to what may appear to be a high rate of refusal (see figures above). Careful consideration should be given to what can be viewed, with equal validity, as a high rate of acceptance. Considering the shortness of time allowed for planning and promotion (to be discussed in the next section), this statistic may actually be rather remarkable.

*Schools have been given code letters.

It may possibly be construed as an index of the value these families place on education. That those in the lower classes believe in the American Dream is not atypical.[13] In a recent community survey in New York City, a sample of adults were asked the following question: "About how much schooling do you think most young men need these days to get along well in the world?" In the lower class, 43 per cent of the respondents, with children in school, stated that more than a high school education was necessary. Corresponding percentages for the working- and middle-class respondents were 68 and 81 per cent.[14] Comparable results were reported by Hyman in a national sample of youths.[15] Similar findings have been reported by others.[16]

## Factors Relating to Nonattendance

Our research suggests that some who did not attend the program did not refuse to participate because of a lack of desire to do so; their nonattendance was due to a variety of factors, which will be the focus of this section of the paper. Comments from the records and reports of the seminar members who conducted the research are inserted for illustration and clarification throughout.

1. Some children and parents on the list of those invited reported that they had not heard of the program. This could have occurred for a number of reasons--for example, clerical errors, absence of the child from school on the day of the announcement, reluctance to admit lack of interest on the part of child or parent. The schools differed in their means and effectiveness of communicating the program to the children. In school C (where all 9 of the invited children refused):

> . . . the program was mentioned somewhat casually by a classroom teacher to a group of about twenty youngsters, who were told that anyone interested in summer school could contact the principal for further information. Copies of the pamphlet were given to those who did see the principal. Those students who did not contact the principal were, of course, not given the pamphlet.

Another child from this school had a different but equally ineffective experience:

> Debby expressed a great interest in the summer program, and I think if she had received the notice earlier she might have attended. She received the notice from a messenger from the principal's office. Several others in her class received it also. Debby and her friend, Pauline, asked their teacher . . . about it. [She] said she thought it would be nice for the girls to go, although she didn't know anything about it. . . . They were told that they had to return the application the next day. . . . Debby would have liked to know what the teachers were like and what the school was like.

Another child who did attend reported that she didn't know why the program had been set up; she thought she had been picked because she was the "teacher's pet."

> Her teacher who encouraged her would be teaching at one of the schools in the summer program. She didn't hear about the program from anyone else. . . . She would like to have known if there would be any homework.

Some students attending school E reported never having seen the pamphlet, although one girl said she did know one boy and one girl who were called to the principal's office to obtain an application. A principal of another school was reported by a student to have called her to his office, told her that she had been especially chosen for a scholarship to attend a summer program at Shady Hill, and encouraged her to take advantage of it.

Programs involving the public schools should give careful consideration to the resources of the schools and the limitations on the time of teachers and administrators. School principals are faced with many tasks, and the presentation of this program was one thing among many. In order to allocate importance to projects of this kind, consideration might be given to making the principals consultants to the project. Possibly they could attend a special session for their orientation. Funds should, of course, be provided for this.

2. In the actual implementation very little time, in some cases less than one day, was allowed for making this significant decision concerning the summer activities of the child, al-

though the plans of the project contemplated a period of two weeks for this purpose. Many parents did not have adequate time to make inquiries, discuss the situation with the family, or ask for interpretations or advice. The concern and interest of some parents who had a more reasonable time to assess the program is indicated in the following report:

> Inez received the pamphlet from her teacher. Unlike many others, she had several days before the pamphlet had to be returned. She is very interested in education and wants to learn more. Her mother . . . is interested in anything that has to do with education. . . . She talked it over with her husband, and . . . they went to see the Shady Hill School and the director before the program started. The director further explained the program and showed them around the school.

From the perspective of the school administration, one day delimits involvement. It also keeps to a minimum the length of time the invitation is offered in the presence of other students not eligible to participate. Nevertheless, invited students and their parents need a reasonable amount of time to consider the program. In the future an adequate period should be allowed for this.[17]

3. The invitation to attend came too late in the year for some children who were interested in the program, but who had already made plans for the summer. Camp, vacations with parents or relatives, and other summer activities often have to be decided upon in early spring.[18] There were a number of instances similar to the following:

> This girl was extremely interested in the program but plans for her family to visit some relatives that summer had already been formulated, so she rejected it. She discussed the program with her mother, father, and friends; that her family had already made plans for the summer was the decisive factor.

4. The pamphlet that was sent home to explain the program was perceived as confusing or lacking in information by many of those interviewed. There was some indication that even though most could read the words in the pamphlet, a number of parents did not fully comprehend.

The sending home of pamphlets may be an adequate means of communication for middle-class areas, but may be inadequate for lower-class neighborhoods. It may be, as some of our interviews indicated, that some families in this kind of environment are not competent to deal with their external environment by means of written communication. In this connection, Stouffer incisively points out that parental incompetence is more dysfunctional for lower-class children than for those of the middle class: the neighborhood for the middle-class child itself functions, regardless of parental interest, to encourage high educational attainment.[19]

There was wide variation in the adults' conceptions of the program:

> The girl's mother had no idea why the program was set up, but thought it was "a good idea for those children who had nothing to do."
>
> This mother felt that her daughter had been told to go to summer school as a result of a great deal of absence. She had great difficulty reading and understanding the brochure. She felt that it involved another group of children, i.e., a higher class.
>
> Although the daughter was very interested in the program, the mother's attitude was one of indifference. This mother had no idea why the program was set up or why her daughter was chosen except that she was on the Honor Roll. She said many times that the program was not clear to her, and she did not understand it; it had not been explained very well.
>
> The parents thought of the program as something to aid her in school, and she wasn't poor in her schoolwork so they didn't feel it would be necessary for her to take it . . . would have liked it for their other daughter who isn't doing so well . . . they didn't want to "take up the summer" of the daughter doing extremely well.

The brochure was apparently confusing concerning two crucial issues: finances and transportation.

The Cost Factor. Parents were asked to indicate on the application blank how much they could afford to contribute to the program.

> One woman who was ill and whose husband had left her spent a great deal of time trying to figure out how much she could afford to pay for the program. She felt that it was a "bargain" and she should thus pay a proportionate amount.

Some parents interpreted the optional payments as obligatory; some felt they should pay but could afford very little; others thought they should pay the maximum although they could not afford it. Thus the aspect of contributions to the program was confusing to some, ambiguous to others, and to some presented problems of esteem. This confusion may in some cases have been a factor which weighed against acceptance.[20]

We recommend a nominal registration fee to cover the overall payment plan. Scholarship money should be provided for those for whom even a nominal amount would constitute a hardship.

Another cost factor that troubled a number of mothers was clothing:

> The mother worried that the girl would need a better wardrobe if she were to attend this "wealthy prep school."

In some families where many children, the absence of a working father, and other problems combined to make the financial situation acute, an available summer camp may be preferable to the school program, because the child who is at camp does not have to be fed at home.

Transportation. The arrangements to be made for transportation of the children were not clear to the parents reading the pamphlet. In some families--consider a mother with eight children being supported by A. F. D. C. (Aid for Families With Dependent Children)--daily busfare appears as an alarming amount of money. In addition, a number of mothers interviewed did not feel comfortable having their children travel alone into the suburbs to the schools. (Possibly the parents of boys would be less protective in this respect.)

> In one case the given reason for nonacceptance of the program was the danger involved in traveling to the school by way of public transportation.

> One mother was very much in favor of the program and wanted her daughter to attend. However, she did not want her daughter to travel alone every day to Belmont.

Mothers of younger children, who were--according to the pamphlet--to have transportation provided, did not know what this meant, or if it would cost anything. Of a family who had had more time than most to inquire into the program before enrolling their daughter, an interviewer wrote:

> Inez would not have been able to go if transportation had not been provided, or if the program had cost money.

In view of the many difficulties regarding communication with the parents, the seminar members who carried out the interviews felt strongly that a direct personal approach is necessary to interpret a special program of this kind to many of the parents--especially to those whose children have already failed to attend or who seem unlikely to attend. The cost of this kind of program would not have to be prohibitive; required, perhaps, are some imagination and an orientation toward utilizing the natural resources of the community.

A service corps of interested and, to some extent, educated (but a high degree of education is not required) adults residing in the area could be established to make such contacts not only feasible but desirable. A new kind of role could be evolved, such as that of neighborhood adviser.[21] The idea offers a potentially great leverage for indigenous social change. Training programs could be established on a pilot basis.[22] An extension of this idea would be to involve those youngsters who have already participated in the educational enrichment program in introducing and orienting new candidates to the program.[23]

The considerations listed in points 1 - 4 above indicate that in future programs those eligible to attend who did not previously accept should be given an opportunity to be involved, and that an effort should be made to overcome the relatively manageable factors that apparently kept some students from attending the program.

## The Role of Parental Values and Attitudes Toward Education

The data from the interviews suggest that those who did attend the program, in contrast with those who did not attend, had received support (verbal encouragement seemed adequate) from either the home or the school. It did not seem necessary for both elements to be present; however, parental encouragement seemed most significant. An overall view of the research results points to the crucial difference of parental values. Parents of children who attended the program had value orientations different from those of the parents of children who did not attend. In spite of difficulties already noted, they enrolled their children in the program, either before or after making inquiries of principal, teacher, director at the independent school, settlement house personnel, or others. They were both involved with and dealing with their external network. They were successful in transmitting their high aspirations to their daughters.

> I think that the factor of parental influence and encouragement was the most significant variable in this girl's response to the program. The parents had been highly successful in implanting their interest in education in their daughter.
>
> The mother was all excited and thought it was wonderful that her daughter had been picked out to go. "Education is the only way . . . the more they go to school, the better it is for them." The father has taken out endowment insurance so that the girl can go to college if she wants to. "I took out an endowment policy for each child when they were six months old. . . . I tell my girl, 'There's no reason why you can't go; there's help for the kids in this world.'"

It was this factor of parental values that Stouffer suspected was crucial in differentiating between those who went and those who did not go to college. "We believe that the differences that may be significant in motivating the child to higher education are found not so much in ability to pay as in differences in value orientations of the parents and in techniques of implementing those orientations."[24]

Kahl, in a carefully selected sample of 24 boys from an original sample of over 3,000 of low socio-economic class

backgrounds, consisting of 12 who were and 12 who were not planning to attend college, found that the crucial factor was parental support and encouragement. He found that this parental support was sufficient to determine college-going; in his carefully selected focused sample, he did not find one instance of the school's supporting lower-class children of high ability in attending college.[25] For purposes of application, the basis upon which the mothers influence their children's plans for future programs should provide insight for developing modes and methods of intervention commensurate with our culturally approved goals of individual responsibility within the context of equal opportunity.[26]

The interviews also clearly revealed that many of the students and their mothers had no conception of college: what a college looks like, costs, or means. All seemed to value education highly, however. The specification of this value area, of course, remains problematical; nevertheless its implications for widening these children's horizons are clear.

This conceptualization was derived from the work of Stouffer on social mobility, and is called by him a "cognitive lack theory." Simply, this theory states that parents and their children do not fail to attend college because they do not want to attend, but because they do not see college as being "in the cards" for them.[27]

### 3. The Significance of the Project

For A. B. C. D., the Simmons research project resulted in (1) an assessment, that otherwise would not have been available, of an important aspect of the enrichment program; (2) the development of some instruments and techniques of continuing usefulness; and (3) recommendations for consideration in future programs.

For Simmons College, the experience was of considerable significance. Such seminars offer the undergraduate students enrolled in the social sciences a systematic introduction and exposure to their laboratory, the world. This exposure

has greater validity and meaning for the student if problems undertaken for examination are theoretically and socially important. If findings are used by relevant community agencies, so much the better. This teaching concept should be further explored and assessed. A careful examination needs to be made of such questions as the nature of appropriate agency-school affiliations and the funds required for support of such a program.[28]

For the students enrolled in the seminar that carried out this study, the opportunity to be involved in an action research project which assessed a vital area of our society was certainly an advantage. The translation of theoretical concepts, such as "culturally deprived," into the "real world" was in itself an important experience both emotionally and methodologically. Interestingly enough, several of the seminar members, as a result of their interviewing, felt that they had been deprived by the confines of their own class culture:

> As typical middle-class students we were totally ignorant concerning the people and areas of Roxbury and the South End. Although we have read about such places in books and magazines and seen television broadcasts about poverty and Appalachia, we never knew exactly what life like this entailed and how these people lived, until we ventured into their home territory. The squalor and poverty of some homes not only horrified us but also brought us to the realization of just how sheltered we were and how little we know. To us, the term "culturally deprived" must be used to refer not only to those people living in lower socio-economic areas . . . but also to people like ourselves.

The project also offered an opportunity for personal service. The commitment of these nine young women was indicated by their sponsorship, after the semester was over and grades and credit had been received for the course, of a coffee hour to which they invited A. B. C. D. representatives Dr. Sidney H. Aronson, Associate Director of Research for A. B. C. D., and Mr. Norman R. Stacey, Project Director, Independent School Program, A. B. C. D. They did this in order that their research findings might be more effectively communicated. The interchange at this "alumnae" meeting offered significant feedback to those involved in the evaluation program.

## The Effect of the Research on the 1965 Summer Program[29]

The seminar members' conference with A. B. C. D. representatives and a subsequent preliminary report of research results contributed to some of the following changes in the educational enrichment program for the summer of 1965.

1. One of the most important revelations of this research was that the children who did not attend the program in 1964 did not attend for many varied reasons, including not having even received the brochure. Because of this, those who were invited to attend and did not do so were given another opportunity in 1965.

2. Recruitment was started earlier. This reduced the likelihood of conflicting summer plans having already been made for many children, and also allowed more time for the parents to make their decision.

3. To avoid clerical errors and to afford further support and encouragement to attend the program, a letter was sent out from Mr. John H. Funk, Executive Secretary of the Educational Enrichment Program and Director of Belmont Hill Center. This letter informed parents and child of the program at about the same time the principal extended to the student the invitation to attend.

4. More attention was paid to the orientation of the principals, so that they could better communicate with students and parents about the program.

5. Changes were made in the pamphlets. Some of the changes suggested by the seminar members were too expensive to carry out, even though they were considered desirable (photographs and other visual aids). Other changes were incorporated, however. In contrast to the first brochure, the one for 1965 carried a brief and succinct summary of the program in the most prominent location--the first page. Matters which last year occupied prominent space (program sponsors, where the money came from, etc.) were this year relegated to the inside pages and also reduced.

## 4. Summary and Conclusions

The entire issue of intermittent opportunities for children in low socio-economic areas should be carefully assessed. The usual view seems to be that any and all programs for these areas are both good and functional. To expose a child to the realization that the American success goal can be a reality without, however, adequately providing program continuity in reaching this goal, may well be dysfunctional for both the child and the program. This issue has not gone unrecognized by those who are involved in the educational enrichment program. As Funk has stated: "Much has been said about the ultimate value of this kind of educational experience when the child returns to his present environment. Will discontent bring frustration and confusion?"[30]

Parsons has pointed out that the general upgrading process going on in education today could very well lead to an increase in delinquency among lower-class youth: "As the acceptable minimum of educational qualification rises, persons near and below the margin will tend to be pushed into an attitude of repudiation of these expectations. Truancy and delinquency are ways of expressing this repudiation."[31]

The concept that deviant behavior and crime will occur when aspirations far outweigh the means available for achieving them is described by the term "relative deprivation."[32] It is conceivable that children participating in intermittent programs could experience more relative deprivation than those not attending and, consequently, become more frustrated and therefore possibly delinquency prone. Research has indicated that the more closely integrated some minorities become within American culture, the higher their crime rates; thus, the rate of crime for the second generation can be expected to be higher than that of the first.[33]

In light of these considerations, it might be advisable to broaden the summer program to include some continuity throughout the year. Some of the colleges in the Boston area that have separate, individual programs concerning the "culturally deprived" might carry out such work.

Programs focused on educating the "culturally deprived" might also deal with the matter of providing candidates for the programs. Settlement houses have traditionally appealed to those already on the upward mobility route, but the hard-to-reach require special efforts.[34]

## NOTES

1. I am grateful to the following for their comments and suggestions on a draft of this paper: Sidney H. Aronson, John H. Funk, Joan A. Levin, Paul D. Shea, Clarence C. Sherwood, Norman R. Stacey, and Athena R. Theodore.

2. "First Report: Educational Enrichment Program, Summer, 1964" (Mimeographed, A. B. C. D., 1965); also J. H. Funk, "Educational Enrichment Program," The Independent School Bulletin, January 1965, pp. 33-37.

3. For complete details on both sampling and selection procedures, see the reports cited in Footnote 2.

4. For a convenient summary of these and similar statistics, see United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, "Roxbury: Demographic Data" and "South End: Demographic Data" (Mimeographed, 1963).

5. In this connection see W. B. Miller, "Implications of Urban Lower-Class Culture for Social Work," Soc. Serv. Rev. 33:3, pp. 219-236; also J. L. Hozid and M. E. Wilk, "Detached Social Work in the South End," Hearings Before the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, of the Committee on the Judiciary (83rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 1954), pp. 57-70.

6. In this connection see F. Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (New York: Harper & Bros., 1962), p. 3. The bibliography in this volume contains a convenient summary of some of the literature in this area. A more recent work is A. H. Passow (Ed.), Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964); this volume also contains a useful bibliography concerning the culturally deprived. Another useful compilation in this area is A. H. Halsey et al. (Eds.), Education, Economy and Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961). A well-known and influential earlier work is A. Davis, Social Class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948).

7. For an incisive analysis and description of lower-class culture, see W. B. Miller, "Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," J. Soc. Issues 14:3, pp. 5-19. Other writings by Miller are also relevant. For a summary statement, analysis, and bibliography of Miller's work, see H. M. Johnson, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction (Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., 1960).

The Miller article noted above and several other articles cited elsewhere in this report (Merton, Bell) have been reprinted in M. E. Wolfgang et al. (Eds.), The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962).

8. Focusing the sample on a specific effect on a known population and then exploring the differentials from a given stimulus is methodologically sound and allows for generalizing. When this procedure is utilized, small sample sizes are adequate. M. W. Riley, Sociological Research (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964). The stimulus situation used in this research were the pamphlet and application form given the students to take to their parents.

9. The chi square test was used to determine whether there was a statistically significant association between grade level and attendance at the special summer school program. Dichotomizing the data by grouping grades three through six and grades seven and eight we obtain a statistically significant relationship between grade level and attendance as shown in the table below. It should be noted, however, that this grade grouping is somewhat arbitrary; where grade 6 would be classified is the crucial factor here.

Responses of Roxbury and South End Girls to Summer Program Invitations, Classified and Grouped by 1963-64 Grade in School

| Grade | Attended | Did Not Attend |
|---|---|---|
| 3-6 | 25 | 13 |
| 7-8 | 12 | 22 |
| Total | 37 | 35 |

Chi square = 6.68 $P. < .01$

10. In a study that utilized a national sample, this point was clearly established by P. D. Shea, "Parental Influence on College Planning by Boys and Girls of High Ability During the Sixth to the Ninth Grades" (Doctoral Thesis, Harvard University, 1964).

11. Stouffer pointed out, "Choice of high school curriculum is made in . . . many, if not most, urban high schools at the end of the eighth grade. Some who elect the college preparatory course at this time transfer later to a commercial, general, or trade course, usually as the result of poor marks; but it is extremely rare for a student to switch to college preparatory after beginning in another curriculum. Hence, for those who at the end of eighth grade have chosen not to go to college preparatory, there has been something approaching an

irrevocable decision." S. A. Stouffer, "The Study of Social Mobility: Some Strategic Considerations," Social Research to Test Ideas (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962), p. 228.

For an illuminating theoretical discussion of this same issue, see T. Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society," Harvard Ed. Rev. 29, Fall 1959. This and the Kahl article cited elsewhere in this report are in A. H. Halsey et al. (Eds.), op. cit.

These studies are an outgrowth of a graduate research seminar on social mobility conducted for several years at Harvard University by Talcott Parsons, Florence Kluckhohn, and Samuel Stouffer. Several thousand high school children in industrial and residential suburbs of metropolitan Boston were studied and followed up to note whether or not they went to college. Questionnaires were administered, school records analyzed, and informal interviews in some depth conducted with samples of students and their parents. The work of Kahl, Herriott, and Shea is part of this series of studies. Shea is currently carrying on the applied work of the late S. A. Stouffer on school guidance, social stratification, and career opportunity.

12. In this connection see R. E. Herriott, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspirations," Harvard Ed. Rev. 33:2, 1963; also, A. B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," Amer. Soc. Rev. 24:6, pp. 836-845.

13. A prominent theory of delinquency states that delinquency is an outcome of the fact that lower-class children believe in the American dream of success, but lack the necessary means to achieve the goal and, as a consequence, repudiate the goal. Cohen refers to this as a reaction-formation. A. K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955).

A. B. Wilson, in a recent study of sixth-grade students in Berkeley, California, found that of boys surveyed whose father's occupations were in semiskilled and unskilled manual categories, 65 per cent aspired to go to college. Wilson states: "The seeds of this anomic situation--the maintenance of culturally shared goals without concomitant command of the means --are sown in the early elementary school years." ("Social Stratification and Academic Achievement" in Passow, op. cit., p. 233).

14. R. A. Cloward and J. J. Jones, "Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation" in Passow, op. cit., pp. 198-199.

15. H. H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social-Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification" in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (Eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953).

16. For example, in a Roper survey of adults taken in 1937 during the Depression the following question was asked: "Do you think that today any young man with thrift, ability, and ambition has the opportunity to rise in the world, own his own home, and earn $5000 a year?" Among the "poor," 31 per cent affirmed this belief; among the "prosperous," 53 per cent. The average income of the highest fifth of the families in the United States was then $4,216. (Johnson, op. cit., p. 560.)

Also see the following: T. F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American (New York: Van Nostrand, 1964): N. Glazer and D. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1963).

17. Our data did not permit us to state to what degree length of time was a crucial variable in the decision-making process; we are pointing out here that it was involved in whether the child attended or did not attend the program. For the ideal experimental model, it is desirable to have cases that are alike in all respects except one--in this instance, the length of time given to consider the program before making a decision to attend or not attend the summer educational enrichment program.

For a cogent discussion of this issue, see S. A. Stouffer, "Some Observations on Study Design," Amer. J. Soc. 55:355, 1950; also Stouffer, op. cit.

For a recent and penetrating analysis of this problem as applied to de facto segregation research, see S. H. Aronson and C. C. Sherwood, "Desegregation, School Performance, and Social Science" (Mimeographed, A. B. C. D., 1965).

18. From an overall perspective, camp, for example, can also be considered an educational opportunity. Thus the child who has an opportunity both to go to camp and to participate in this educational enrichment program has double exposure as contrasted to another child who can do neither. With reference to scarce resources, this becomes an important consideration. (For a general discussion of this and related issues, see C. C. Sherwood, "Methodological, Measurement and Social Action Considerations Related to the Assessment of Large-Scale Demonstration Programs" [Mimeographed. Paper presented at The Annual Meeting of the American Statistical Association, Chicago, December 29, 1964]).

19. Stouffer, op. cit., p. 227.

20. Stacey of A. B. C. D. said it was his impression that although no one was denied access to the program because of

inability to contribute, nevertheless most of the parents paid something. Exact tabulations are not available at this time. It should be noted that some of the independent schools made some effort to collect the monies that were pledged by mailing letters to the home or calling. Of those who pledged some payment, 80 or 90 per cent did in fact pay.

21. For salability an acronym might be developed: Community Action Service Expert: CASE. Dr. Robert E. Herriott, Florida State University, is also currently exploring a similar concept in conjunction with a Job Corps project (personal communication). See also M. Ravitz, "The Role of the School in the Urban Setting" in Passow, op. cit., p. 21.

22. My experience as a settlement house worker organizing neighborhood action groups in the South End indicates that if individuals with leadership potential lack adequate knowledge and skills, training can be made available; this training then gives the necessary support so that leadership can be taken locally.

23. This could, of course, be accomplished in various ways both on an individual and a group basis. On a group basis, some special event during the year, such as an alumni type of meeting, could be employed. These activities could have other important implications, both for those who have attended the program and for the new applicants.

First, they would provide opportunities for promoting solidarity and furthering new membership and reference groups for both the former participants and those considering attendance. (For a discussion of this and related matters, see R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure [rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957], pp. 64-65, pp. 225-386: Johnson, op. cit., pp. 39-47.)

Secondly, skill and competence can be gained from being involved in planning and in inviting others to participate, including the sending of invitations. Such activities are especially significant for the culturally disadvantaged who have few opportunities to develop these kinds of social skills. (Pettigrew makes the same general point in reference to the Negro involvement in the civil rights movement, op. cit., pp. 159-177.)

24. Stouffer, op. cit., p. 226.

25. J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Ed. Rev. 23:3, 1953.

26. Research by Shea, op. cit., has clearly pointed out the influence of the mother on the aspirations of the child, holding social class constant.

27. Stouffer, op. cit., pp. 226 and 231. Shea's research has provided empirical support for this theory. Shea, op. cit.

28. For a description of other laboratory sessions for social science courses, see J. L. Hozid and H. M. Johnson, "Statistical Study of Parole Outcome for Boys: An Example of Research Cooperation Between a State Agency and a College" (Mimeographed: Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Division of Youth Service, 1958).

29. Personal communications from J. H. Funk and N. R. Stacey.

30. Funk, op. cit., p. 37.

31. Parsons, op. cit., p. 313.

32. The classic statement of this situation is contained in R. K. Merton's essays on anomie, op. cit. For a succinct summary of this, see Johnson, op. cit. Also see Footnote 13 of this paper.

33. G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1958), p. 515.

Pettigrew has succinctly stated the issue: "If Negroes had not become such an integral part of American society, if they had remained an isolated group refusing to share in the dominant values and aspirations of the general culture, racial discrimination would not be such a potent factor in Negro crime. Economically disadvantaged and persecuted minority groups can maintain low crime rates as long as they remain socially and culturally integrated within their own groups. But as they depart from their sheltered status and begin to enter the mainstream of American life, their crime rates rise rapidly." (Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 155.)

This reaction is not peculiar to Negroes; every minority group in the United States had made its contribution to crime. It is Bell's analysis, following Merton's seminal essay, that the crime results from the indoctrination of the minority groups with the American success goal, but without the legitimate means of achievement available. D. Bell, "Crime as an American Way of Life," The End of Ideology (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959).

34. An early and somewhat dramatic statement on this issue, now considered a sociological classic, is W. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum 2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). For a more recent statement, see H. J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962). These studies were of two different low-income areas in Boston.